

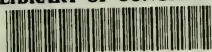
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Republican Club

1900.

Dinner
held at Deimonico's
on the
Ninety-first Anniversary
of the Birthday of
Abraham Lincoln,
February 12th, 1900.





National Republican Club, inc

PROCEEDINGS

AT

THE FOURTEENTH

ANNUAL LINCOLN DINNER

OF THE

REPUBLICAN
CLUB

OF THE

CITY OF NEW YORK

CELEBRATED AT DELMONICO'S THE NINETY-FIRST ANNIVERSARY
OF THE BIRTHDAY OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN
MONDAY, FEBRUARY 12TH, 1900

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ABRAHAM LINCOLN

EMANCIPATOR

MARTYR

BORN FEBRUARY 12TH, 1809

ADMITTED TO THE BAR 1837

ELECTED TO CONGRESS 1846

ELECTED

SIXTEENTH PRESIDENT

OF THE

UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1860

EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION

JANUARY 1ST, 1863

RE-ELECTED PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES, NOVEMBER, 1864

ASSASSINATED APRIL 14TH, 1865

OFFICERS 1900

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, PRESIDENT

VICE-PRESIDENTS

LOUIS STERN

CHARLES H. TREAT

P. C. COSTELLO

SECRETARIES

PRATT C. BROWN

ALFRED R. CONKLIN

Recording Secretary

Corresponding Secretary

TREASURER

J. EDGAR LEAYCRAFT

LINCOLN DINNER COMMITTEE

W. JENKS MERRITT, CHAIRMAN

ALEXANDER T. MASON

E. A. NEWELL

Secretary

Treasurer

JOS. M. DEUEL

R. M. KENYON

JAMES R. SHEFFIELD

CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW

Ex-Officio

TOASTS

HON. CHAUNCEY M. DEPEW, *Presiding*

GRACE, - - - - -

REV. MALTBIE D. BABCOCK

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, - - -

HON. ROBT. G. COUSINS

REPUBLICAN PARTY, - - -

HON. JOHN W. GRIGGS

ABRAHAM LINCOLN (Poem)

PROF. EDWIN MARKHAM

POLITICAL CONSCIENCE, - - -

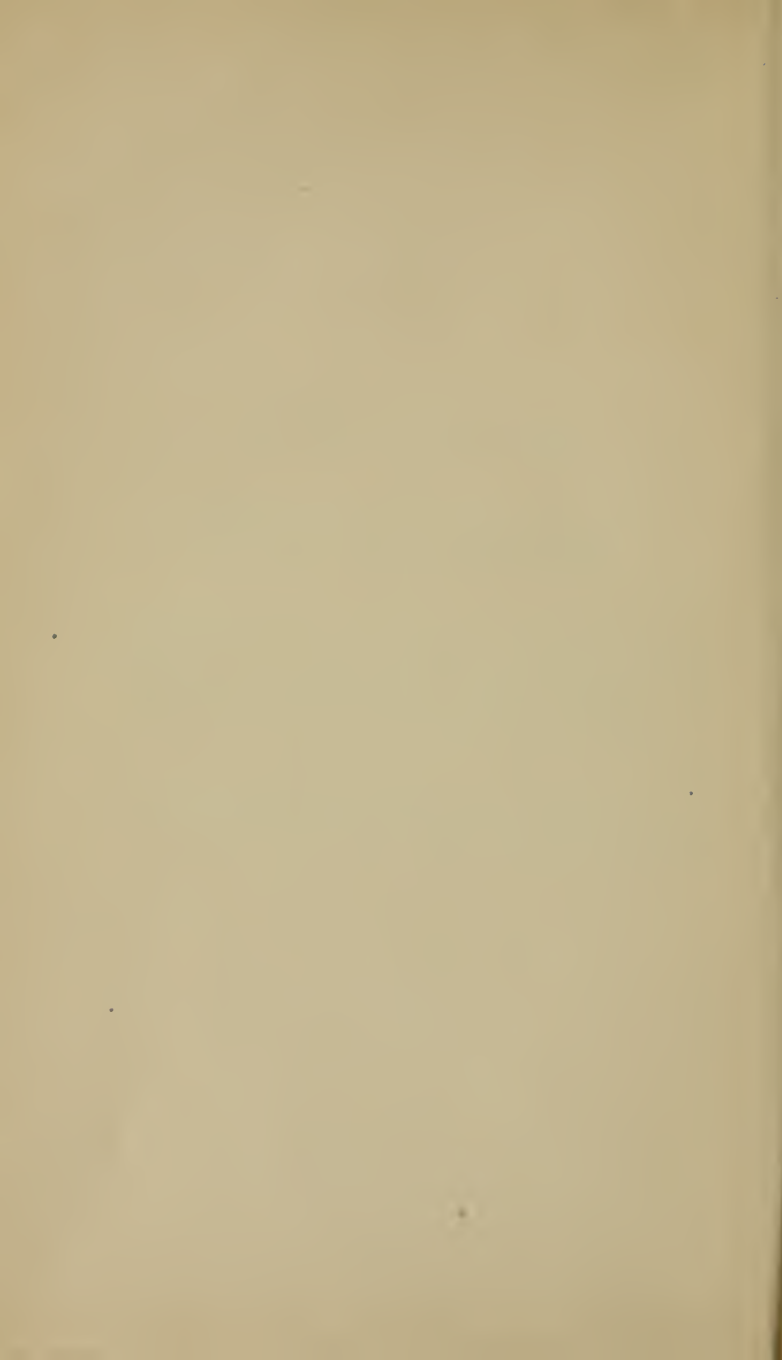
REV. SAMUEL SCHULMAN



THE LINCOLN DINNER
OF THE
REPUBLICAN CLUB

THE Fourteenth Annual Dinner of the Republican Club of the City of New York was given at Delmonico's, Monday, February 12th, 1900, on the Ninety-first Anniversary of the Birthday of Abraham Lincoln.

The President of the Club, Hon. Chauncey M. Depew called upon the Rev. Maltbie D. Babcock to say grace.



Introductory Address of Senator Chauncey M. Depew.

Gentlemen: and I suppose I should say ladies, for it is the peculiarity of the Republican Club that it never celebrates this annual festival without having ladies present, in the gallery. We feel that whatever we profess and whatever we believe is an inspiration which comes from them and that their hearts beat in unison with the sentiments which we will express here to-night.

The Republican Club claims to be the pioneer in the celebration of the birthdays of Abraham Lincoln. The significance of the event and its relations to the times, and the character and achievement of this wonderful man have been illustrated here during the fourteen years of these discussions better than anywhere else. No civic, military, or naval hero deserves or can maintain an annual commemoration unless his works and his principles are of continuing vitality. The man of the hour has his mission and performs his task. The everyday problems which are continually arising to be solved could not be successfully met without him. It is his fate to have for his reward only the applause of his contemporaries. We celebrate in our country the birthdays of George Washington, Alexander Hamilton, Thomas Jefferson, General Jackson, General Grant, and Abraham Lincoln. It is a singular and significant fact that the living principles and ideas of all these statesmen are the living principles and ideas of the Republican Party of to-day. It is a still more significant fact that while the Democratic party celebrates the natal day of Thomas Jefferson and General Jackson, they have wandered so far from their teachings that if the spirits of either or both could be materialized and attend a Democratic banquet on either of their anniversaries the room would be cleared. [Laughter.]

It is an interesting question as we close one century and enter upon another to speculate as to who will survive of the nineteenth as the representative of what has been done during these hundred years. Though we are only one century in advance of the eighteenth yet of all the worthies who fill the mind and eye of the generations of that period only two are universally and commonly recognized of all men—George Washington and Napoleon Bonaparte. When the twentieth shall

have been lost in the twenty-first or the twenty-second and the story of the nineteenth, is recalled, I doubt if there will be in the mind of the school boy and the average man or woman any other well-known names than in Europe, Bismarck, in America, Lincoln. Bismarck united that most powerful of material and intellectual forces when acting in common for a thousand years, the Teutonic race and the Teutonic spirit. He made possible modern Germany and the tremendous part she will play in the destinies of the world. The distinguishing characteristic of the nineteenth century is emancipation—emancipation of the soul from bigotry and dogma; emancipation of the mind from the formalities and dead forms of the past; emancipation of the individual from divine right to govern, from class, from privilege, and from slavery; emancipation of education from the studies which consumed valuable time without imparting compensating instruction; emancipation from the restrictions upon the suffrage, emancipation of commerce, of travel, of the fertile lands and navigable waters of the globe, from the restrictions of nature by discovering the secrets and utilizing the forces and powers of nature. For the first quarter of the nineteenth century Catholics were denied political privileges in some countries, Protestants in other countries, and Jews in all countries, and in every State of the United States there was some form of restriction upon the suffrage. We witness to-day the emancipation of religion from political disabilities and the practical admission of the right of manhood suffrage.

Events stand for little except with students. The mind and imagination of the people personify ideas and measures in their most conspicuous representatives. While Washington stands clearer on the hundredth anniversary of his death, which occurred only a few weeks ago, as representing the constructive forces which created modern representative government and the power of the people, Abraham Lincoln will stand as the representative of this marvellous advance in emancipation and reconstruction. In these days when it is common to try to build parties, and create issues upon class hatred, Lincoln stands as the representative of all classes, if there be such in our country. [Applause.]

While the conditions of his early youth were poor beyond anything known in the home of the artisan or the workingman of to-day, yet it was not poverty in any sense in which that word is understood. The pioneer who settles in the wilderness, who tries with the help of all his family to clear a farm from which he may earn only a living, whose home is a log cabin, and whose children have none of the advantages of schools or books, is not a pauper. He is a State builder. Lincoln, after a hard day's work lying on the ground and, by the light of the pine knot, reading the only two books of the

neighborhood, the Bible and the Statutes of Illinois, was illustrating that determination to secure by education the tools with which to work out a career which has characterized most of our men of success in business, in politics, and in letters. Lincoln studied expression and rhetoric in the poverty of a neighborhood which had no stationery by writing with a piece of charcoal upon a shingle. But this industry, zeal, and pluck, made him, as it has made many another poor boy, a master of style and of the English language, and it culminated with our hero in that gem of American oratory, the Gettysburg speech. If there are classes in our country he was a reputable and honorable and useful member of them all. He was a backwoodsman, clad in the skin of wild beasts; he was a flat-boatman, assisting in an humble capacity, in the commerce of the country on the Mississippi river. He was a lawyer, first without fees, and then with a lucrative practice. He was a worker who lived during his early struggles upon the smallest possible wages and yet who when he died left a considerable fortune. He was President of the United States during the most critical and trying period in its history. He met, with marvelous ability and wonderful success, the perils of civil war and of revolution, and he displayed the highest qualities of statesmanship and wisdom of administration. In this also was an illustration, and a conspicuous one, of that constant education for public affairs which comes from the exercise of the franchise and from the interest of the boy, and then the man, in the questions of the hour and the government of his country. Every polling place, every caucus, every political meeting, is a school of statesmanship and of government. The great administrators of the country who have won distinction in the chair of the Chief Magistracy, in the Cabinet and in Congress, have been educated in those most practical of schools. He dared proclaim that the United States could not live half free and half slave; that one or the other must perish, and that slavery would perish and the Union survive, when so to declare perilled the life of the orator and ruined his political career. He aroused a storm of protest, of discussion and of denunciation, by his emancipation proclamation as a violation of the Constitution, even if it saved the country, only equalled by the denunciation and discussion from the same class of minds of the action of President McKinley in sanctioning the acquisition of new territories and the imposition of American institutions upon Porto Rico and the Philippines.

The student of the teachings of Lincoln will find instructive lessons applicable to the present conditions in the State of Kentucky. The situation in that commonwealth brings emphatically to the front one of the perils to our institutions. The country is filled with horror both at the murder of Mr.

Goebel and the causes which led to it. One crime never justifies another, and the only safety of communities is the stern punishment of the criminal and condemnation of the crime.

Dismissing the tragedy, which we all lament, and which was the culmination of Kentucky's electoral difficulties, we come at once to the lesson of Lincoln. The whole spirit and philosophy of Lincoln's politics was the power of the people. No statesman ever so thoroughly believed that the voice of the people is the voice of God. His appeal was always to the judgment and conscience of his fellow citizens, and he bowed with reverence to the decisions of the majority when that decision was clearly rendered.

Mr. Goebel prepared and had enacted an election law, which went by his name, and whose avowed object was to prevent the people from having their will unless their votes were in accordance with his wishes. The opportunity for fraud upon the ballot and violations to the popular judgment was placed upon the statute books of the commonwealth of Kentucky. This crime against liberty and popular government aroused such indignation among the intelligent and honest voters of Kentucky that they repudiated this invasion of their rights by an overwhelming majority. Upon orders from the chiefs thousands upon thousands of votes were thrown out in different localities.

When this wholesale slaughter of the suffrage still left a large majority against Mr. Goebel and his associates on the arrival of the returns to the Supreme Board at the Capitol the American conscience in two of the three judges rose superior to the partisan demand for the commission of the highest crime known to free government. These two judges, standing against the conspiracy which threatened their political lives and their public career and acting honestly upon the law and the facts, deserve to be placed in the highest position of honor in the list of the patriots of their State. Against that judgment of these two honest partisans Mr. Goebel and his associates appealed to the Legislature to use the authority which that body possessed for the purpose of carrying out the original object of their legislation, which was to prevent the people from having their way, to corrupt the suffrage, to nullify the ballot and to crucify every principle of representative government. Such a crime in a presidential election would produce consequences from which the imagination shrinks.

This event may be a most interesting issue in the coming presidential campaign. The distinguished man, who will probably be the Democratic candidate, and who is delivering daily and nightly orations upon the violations of the Declaration of Independence in the Philippines by organizing government there without the consent of the governed, also twice visited

Kentucky during these troubles and gave the moral support of his presence and influence to the Goebel side of the divided Democratic party. Should he be nominated the line will at once be drawn between our constitutional right to govern the Philippines as colonies and the unconstitutional action of the Colonel's friends in Kentucky.

The safety of the Republic within the States which form our Union and make us a nation is Lincoln's great principle, "Government of the people, by the people and for the people." [Applause.]

The emancipation for which Lincoln stands in the nineteenth century will bear its fruits in the twentieth. The twenty knot and the twenty-thousand ton steamship are bringing all parts of the earth and their productions together. The telegraph and the cable not only present to all markets the instantaneous intelligence of every one, but they break down territorial boundaries and link distant climes to the flag. Whatever Old Glory stands for as it waves from the dome of the Capitol is instantaneously felt in every part of our country, in the islands of the Pacific and in the Philippine Archipelago.

Lincoln called for 75,000 troops to suppress the rebellion in South Carolina, and half the constitutional lawyers and judges of the jountry declared it to be a violation of the Constitution. Lincoln sent the armies of the Republic marching along the Mississippi and down the Potomac and across to Savanah to bring sovereign States within the authority and power of the Constitution and of the flag, and half the judges denounced it as tyranny and usurpation. Lincoln emancipated the slave by proclamation, and the constitutional lawyer and the constitutional judge of the strict construction order could find no authority for his act. But the mighty spirit of emancipation for which he stood and of which he was the noblest and most conspicuous representative, has worked a salvation for the North and the South, and the East and the West, which has demonstrated both the elasticity of our Constitution and the resurrecting and revivifying powers of American liberty and American institutions. [Prolonged Applause.]

Address of Hon. Robert G. Cousins.

DR. DEPEW: I now have the pleasure of introducing the member of Congress from the State of Iowa, whom we are so glad to have with us here to-night; who has contributed the best tribute to General Grant that I know of in any of the many eloquent utterances in that subject and who will now speak to us upon Abraham Lincoln.

TOAST—ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

In every part and in almost every city of America, on this last anniversary in the century which produced him, a grateful people meet to pay their homage to the memory of Abraham Lincoln. Not that it is possible for human speech to add to his renown, but rather that we may dedicate ourselves and the Nation which he loved to a better understanding of his character and to the principles for which he lived and died.

The nineteenth century brings to the threshold of the twentieth perhaps the greatest and most distinguished names ever given to the list of the immortals by any single century of human progress, and chief of all those names is Lincoln. [Applause.]

Somebody said that the history of a nation is the history of its great men. If our century has produced greater, better, nobler men who have achieved more for the human race than any other century, it indicates, if it does not prove, the progress of our world. It is a great thing to feel that this is true.

The dream of the eighteenth century was free government—democracy—the thought that civilized and enlightened mankind could govern themselves, and that security, progress and endurance would attend that system. But it was doubted by the world even when our independence was achieved, doubted when Abraham Lincoln was born, doubted when a free people chose him as their President. The test of rebellion has not yet been made. When it finally came, most of the Old World's intellects volunteered the force and influence of their opinions against the possibility of the unity and survival of the Republic. Even Mr. Gladstone expressed a disbelief in the possible restoration of the Union. But it should always be remembered

in justice to that Empire of the snows, ruled by the Imperial Czar, that when the supreme test of Republican government and human liberty was being made, no voice of discouragement ever emanated from the Russian Empire. [Applause.]

The problem of human slavery—whether one human being could rightfully be claimed as the property of another was the contention on which the tremendous test of Republican government arose. Being a question of both property and morals, all the prejudices and all the selfishness of human nature were necessarily aroused. Destiny had not seen fit to give to the new republic the simple problem of solving the question of its unity, identity, and Federal authority, by a mere abstract interpretation of the Constitution upon the direct issue as to whether for any cause, the Union might be dismembered. It seemed as though Infinite Wisdom sought to couple with the problem every passion that could come from human avarice, every prejudice that might arise from forfeiture, every bias that material considerations could arouse. The terrible test must be made for all time and with every aggravation that could possibly attend it. To reach the summit of free government and to there proclaim to all the world and for all time the unity and independence of the American Republic, the pilgrim of human progress must bear the heaviest pack that all the hands of prejudice and politics and doubt could pile upon his back.

But it must be remembered that in our world of strife and toil and suffering and glory, nothing which is easy can be great.

In the rumbling thunder of that approaching storm could be heard summons only for the bravest and the mightiest men. It was no place for pigmies. In the lightning's flash of that awful hour, human intellect, stimulated to intensity, must foresee the way by which the dearest hope of all the centuries could march to certain and enduring victory, and carry its cause into the permanence of the ages. Ah, America, how great shall be thy gratitude to him who standing in the flashlight of that crisis, shall discern with certainty the way for the new republic to work out its ultimate salvation—the way for liberty to live—the course by which a nation torn asunder shall reach a perfect and enduring Union!

Fifty years have passed and gone—half a century since all men learned his name—and now we come again as citizens of that permanent and perfect Union, to voice our gratitude to him who studied out the way, to him who said "We shall nobly save, or meanly lose, the last, best hope of earth." [Applause.]

He came into the contest as a countryman, out of the loins of labor and from the very heart of the continent. No trumpet sounded his arrival. No family or pedigree gave him prestige. He had to reason his way out of the woods into the world, out

of poverty into position, out of politics into statesmanship, out of greatness into glory, and finally he went from life into the calendar of saints, which never happens except by the unanimous consent of all mankind. [Great applause.]

America first knew him when he finished with Stephen A. Douglas. The torch of his intellect, shining above all others, attracted attention. He had driven Douglas to evade the tenet of his party, that slavery was a creature of the Constitution, illimitable and uncontrollable, and made him say: "The people of a territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery from their limits, prior to the formation of a State constitution."

This declaration of Mr. Douglas was made in answer to Mr. Lincoln's famous second interrogatory in joint debate, and it ruined Douglas with the extreme Democrats. It was heterodox for one undertaking to speak for the Democracy and for slavery to admit that slavery could be anywhere or in any way impeded. The question was propounded by Mr. Lincoln against the advice of all his political counsellors. They feared it would give Mr. Douglas a chance to say just what he did say, and thereby strengthen him with the conservative Republicans of Illinois. But by being careful in Illinois, he became an outlaw in Mississippi. Mr. Lincoln foresaw this. He was looking to the future and to a wider horizon than that of a single State. Some people thought his heart was set on the Senatorship of Illinois, but he was talking for the ages. He was running for a seat in that exalted place at the right hand of Infinite Justice. He was getting rid of Mr. Douglas so that the extreme Democrats in the coming Presidential campaign would nominate a candidate as extreme and as bad as they were themselves. He was driving the friends of human slavery to their logical position, and he was demonstrating to the world the wickedness of that position. He was saving the conservative men, the reasonable men of both parties, for the final conflict that was coming on the wings of war. This was fine work. Its diplomacy was worthy of a Talleyrand; its reasoning worthy of Abraham Lincoln. [Applause.]

When he had done with Douglas he was wanted everywhere. His reason had set a torch upon the hilltops. The close of the senatorial contest in Illinois was but the beginning of that larger contest which involved all States and all the future. The people of the country who had been confused by constitutional niceties, were everywhere repeating over and over again the wondrous words:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this country cannot permanently endure half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or the other. Either the opponents

of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction or its advocates will push it farther until it becomes alike lawful in all the States, old as well as new, North as well as South."

Perhaps never were words spoken by man which made such deep impression on the public mind. It was a prophecy carrying conviction with its very utterance, and everywhere men wondered and inquired among themselves "what manner of man is this?" Ohio must have him in the campaign, Pennsylvania, Iowa, New Hampshire, Minnesota—every place in which the light of his unrivalled wisdom had proceeded called for him, and as Lord Lytton said about his famous Doctor Lloyd, finally "Abbey Hill let him feel its pulse." He was invited to New York. He came to Cooper Institute, and in the presence of such men as William Cullen Bryant, David Dudley Field, and Horace Greeley, he who has been mentioned as the "rude lank Westerner," spoke to an audience described by the *Morning Tribune* as an "assemblage of the intellect and mental culture of our city."

It was here that he described the friends of human slavery and their audacity as "sinners calling the righteous to repentance." It was here that his genius gave him national renown and his logic unfolded the principles of the Constitution from its originators and marked out the way of life for the Republic. It was here that he made it possible to be President, and finally to be crucified.

The dreaming child of the Kentucky woodland, the country boy of Indiana, the flat-boat pilot of the Mississippi, the village postmaster, lawyer, legislator and logician of Illinois, the orator and statesman of America became our President. In the midst of the dissolving Union, standing before the Chief Justice who was to administer the oath of office he had to say: "A disruption of the Federal Union, heretofore only menaced, is now formidably attempted." And then came the sentence which voiced the sentiment of loyalty in America for all time and showed the metal of this courageous and patriotic President.

"I hold that, in contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution the union of these States is perpetual."

Then finally came that matchless utterance of loyalty and love that lifts the name of Lincoln into the loftiest place of literature.

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every loving heart and hearthstone all over this broad land will

swell the chorus of the Union when again touched as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

There have been men who ruled in this world by force and arbitrary mandates and history calls them great. But in a republic, ruling power is granted only by the individual judgment and approval of the millions which can only be reached by reason. When Abraham Lincoln had finished his first inaugural and taken the oath of office he had convinced the better judgment of America, not only of the justice of the Union's cause but of his pre-eminent worthiness to represent that cause. His thought had reached the hearth-stone; his argument was on the lips of countrymen; his love had touched the hearts of loyalty; his gentle spirit permeated every fire side; his matchless genius took possession of superior minds; his wondrous reasoning reached liked penetrating light, the intellects of all the land and consequently at his beck and bidding stood the grandest army ever organized upon this earth from civil life—the Grand Army of the Union. [Great applause.]

Confronting it, there was the greatest force "ever forged into a thunderbolt of rebellion" against any nation. The conflict that ensued was awful and unequalled in the annals of our world. The memory of broken hopes, of blighted love, of scattered families remain forever as the shadows and the lines of care upon the sad and love-illuminated face of the immortal Lincoln. Every sorrow touched his tender heart and every sacrifice that heroism gave its country left a scar upon his sorrowful and kindly features. But in all the trials of that tremendous war, his judgment proved unerring and his never-failing reason was the guiding light. His was the master mind, not only in the matters of momentous policy and statecraft, but wisely practical in all the details of departmental difficulties. Not only was he the most unerring judge of men, but wondrous in his judgment of manœuvring and in foreseeing and in planning for emergencies. He was perhaps the first promotor of the Ironclad. When he learned that one of the Confederate batteries at Charleston Harbor had been made to resist the heaviest shots by being covered with bars of railroad iron he asked Mr. Fox, his Assistant Secretary of the Navy, what difficulty there was in the way of using such a defence upon a vessel. He was told that naval officers feared that "an armor heavy enough to make them effective would sink them as soon as launched." "But is not that a sum in arithmetic?" inquired the President, "On our Western rivers we can figure just how many tons will sink a flat boat. Can't your clerks do the same for an armored vessel?" From the idea of that conversation undoubtedly the monitor was built! The President was the friend of Ericsson and Captain Worden. Two days before the famous battle of the Monitor and Merrimac he said "I believe in the

Monitor and her commander. If Captain Worden does not give a good account of himself I shall have made a mistake in following my judgment. I have not made a mistake in following my clear judgment of men since this war began. I followed that judgment when I gave Worden the command of the Monitor. The Monitor should be in Hampton Roads now, she left New York eight days ago." When he was told by Captain Fox that it was not prudent to place any reliance in the Monitor, he replied :

"I respect your judgment as you have good reason to know, but this time you are all wrong. The *Monitor* was one of my inspirations; I believed in her firmly when that energetic contractor first showed me Ericsson's plans. Captain Ericsson's plain but rather enthusiastic demonstration made my conversion permanent. It was called a floating battery then; I called it a raft. I thought then, and I am confident now, it is just what we want. I am sure the Monitor is still afloat and that she will yet give a good account of herself. Sometimes I think she may be the veritable sling with a stone that shall yet smite the Merri-mac Philistine in the forehead."

On the second night after that utterance, anxiously waiting with officers of the Navy, he heard the joyful news of the victory from Hampton Roads. The idea which was developed by Ericsson had become the monarch of the seas and revolutionized the navies of the world.

There seems to be a kind of affinity in great minds for the sea and for sea-craft. No nation has ever become great in the world of nations that has not taken its place fearlessly and permanently as a co-tenant of the ocean. The sea is treacherous to ignorance, to enlightenment it is kind. Queen Elizabeth used to say "*Quid mihi Maris scribet?*" "What does the sea say to me?" On that memorable Sunday night, March 9, 1862, the Sea said to Abraham Lincoln, "Henceforth we shall be friends. The child of your mind has become the master of the mighty deep." A little while ago the sea said to President Mc Kinley, "Come this way." And in the gray dawn of the morning Admiral Dewey carried the stars and stripes, the emblem of civilization, by the cannon of Cavite, saying to Gridley, "You can fire when you are ready," and when the smoke had cleared away, the world beheld the banner of the stars triumphant in Manila Bay. It said to Sampson and to Schley, to Clark and Wainwright, to Fighting Bob and Praying Phillip, "Catch Cervera and I'll give your country rich possessions near to Nevis of the Lesser Antilles, the birthplace of Alexander Hamilton," and in less than two hours the sea gulls looked in vain for a Spanish flag! Such are the exploits of the ironclad, the child of Abraham Lincoln's genius. [Applause and cheers.]

Being himself great, he was a judge of greatness. He recognized ability when he saw it. Therefore the greatest military genius of the century did not escape his keen, observing eye. He watched the movement of the Western army. He saw the triumphs at Belmont, at Donnelson and Shiloh. He saw the army of the Tennessee, with the hope of all the centuries, trying to find a way to cross the river with no place to embark and no place to land; he saw the final triumph at Vicksburg, and with the millions of America he called for General Grant to take command of all the Union forces. He listened to some small general enviously say "Grant drinks"; and then he calmly and ironically said, "What does he drink? I want to send some of the same brand to all my Generals." Henceforth Grant was unmolested, and within two years from the time America really knew she had a Grant, the banner of the stars was shining on the continent, the stars and stripes were floating over Richmond. [Applause.]

Abraham Lincoln saw the final triumph. He witnessed the fulfilment of his mission. He carried out his proclamation of universal liberty. His wisdom bound together the matchless Army of the Union which made forever good the declaration of his first inaugural, "The union of these States is perpetual." He went to Gettysburg, and with his living heart upon the hearts of comrades dead his lips pronounced those words of love and eloquence that live forever as the matchless gem of concentrated speech in all our literature. With stockinged feet before the White House grate he watched the flickering fire on many an anxious night, just as he had done in old Kentucky and in Indiana and in Illinois in youthtime and in early manhood, and in fancy saw fantastic figures, sometimes droll, amusing him in lonely hours, and then, sometimes, he saw ambition in its selfish form and hated it. He saw the widowed mother and her hungry child; he saw the lover dying on the battlefield for country's sake, and then he saw the face of his betrothed in agony at home. He saw the charge of cavalry and heard the crash of death; he saw the steady lines of infantry starting for the cannoned crest and felt the shot and shell that mangled human forms. And there in the last, long, flickering light, he saw the emblem of the Union carried to the eternal heights. With sad but hopeful heart he laid his head upon the pillow in the mansion where Washington had slept; at early morn he awoke from troubled sleep from day to day until 'twas done, the mission of a mighty soul. [Applause and cheers.]

Bone of the bone, and sinew of the sinew, heart of the very heart of the American Nation, incarnation of its spirit, he reasoned out its course in the darkest epoch of its troubled, glorious history. [Applause.]

The most assuring fact which the twentieth century takes

from the last great lesson of the nineteenth is this: In the greatest revolution ever known upon this earth—the struggle for the unity and survival of free government—the guiding spirit of the Union's cause and the greatest general who bore his shield were born and bred and reared in the average environment and among the middle classes of the commonwealth, where their illustrious examples and their wholesome patriotic precepts are learned, revered, and practiced by the great majority of the successive generations who constitute American citizenship.

Abraham Lincoln was chosen President by the better judgment of the populace which his reason had convinced before the actual strife began. Called again by the unanimous voice of loyalty, when the contest had practically ended, he sat securely in the seat of triumph and of glory, when the greatest tragedy of fact or fiction in the annals of our tragic world took him from the vision of mankind before their grateful hearts could hear his final blessing and his benediction.

I think it was Theophile Gautier who conceived in his imagination a magician who could exchange the souls of men. If by some magic power the soul of J. Wilkes Booth could have been placed in the breast of the martyr President, after the fatal shot was fired, so that it could have gone to the judgment seat with the face of Abraham Lincoln, it might have passed the pearly gates unchallenged. And if the spirit of the murdered President would have entered the breast of that most depraved of all assassins, the murderous hand might momentarily have been forgiven the greatest crime in history, just for the sake of keeping in our sad and grateful world, even for a little while, the loftiest soul, the sweetest spirit, it has ever known in mortal man. [Great applause and prolonged cheers.]

Address of Hon. John W. Griggs.

DR. DEPEW: Ladies and gentlemen: I promised you at the beginning that the best traditions of the eighteen years in which we have celebrated the birthday of Abraham Lincoln would be equalled to-night. I now, as a professional judge, say that they have been surpassed to-night. The most brilliant effort in imagination, in rhetoric, in eloquence, in tribute to the great martyr has been recognized to be that of Col. Ingersoll. I have no hesitation in saying that Col. Ingersoll is not dead.

We are always glad to hear from New Jersey. We are always delighted when New Jersey is honored. We were the friends of Hobart as a Club, as a State in the National Convention, and no State paid him more heartfelt tribute, or shed more tears over him than did the State of New York. We were glad at the last dinner of the Club to welcome all the youngest officers from New Jersey, and to hear from them a great deal of genuine eloquence and some new stories. And now we have with us to-night the man who leads them all, the Attorney General of the United States, who, as lawyer and adviser keeps them in that path by which New Jersey plucks the persimmon, every time: Attorney General Griggs. (Applause.)

TOAST—REPUBLICAN PARTY.

There is no reason why on an occasion like this, we should not indulge in a fair measure of glorification, and, if we choose to, in a few pleasantries at the expense of our opponents. Heaven knows they are trying to have lots of that sort of fun at our expense. [Laughter.] Nor do we begrudge them the satisfaction they get. The only thing that remains for a defeated litigant is to go out and cuss the court. They really mean us no harm. They are only trying to maintain their status as a party, and are having difficulty enough in doing it to gratify the most unrelenting enemy. [Laughter and applause.]

Even their head prophet is embarrassed in knowing how to declare himself so as to hold his populist supporters in the South and West, and to regain the apostate gold men of the East.

The survivor of a shipwreck telegraphed his friends at home: "Ship gone down, but thank God, I am alive! Break the news gently to my wife." [Laughter and applause.] They have been engaged since 1896 with great gentleness in breaking the news that Mr. Bryan is still alive. Indeed, he seems to be, among all the candidates for the Presidential nomination, the sole survivor. I suspect that some of the household are not glad of it.

People understand pretty well the game of politics. They are familiar with the policy which without any affirmative principles rests on criticism and fault-finding—the very easiest and most useless method of contributing to the government of one's country. And so the Republican party is not surprised, nor is it moved, by the vehement outcries that go up from the mouths of those who want to take its place. We have heard them before. They are a familiar sound. They always die out after the election to give place to some new ground of ululation.

During the strife between the Republican Senate and President Johnson, Charles Sumner objected to the confirmation of one of Johnson's nominees on the ground that he was a common drunkard. Yates, of Illinois, protested that the Republicans wanted to establish a teetotal qualification for office. [Laughter.] On a later occasion, Sumner objected to another nominee, because he could neither read nor write, and the Democrats retorted that he was trying to establish a Boston standard of culture for appointment to office. [Laughter.] "After that," said Sumner, "I just moved to reject them all, and gave no reasons." Every administration must expect to be criticised. It makes no difference what policy it pursues, nor which way it disposes of questions. It will be damned if it does; it will be damned if it doesn't. [Applause and laughter.]

No one was ever assailed with such torrents of abuse, of course, vulgar abuse, of criticism extending to every act and every utterance, as Lincoln. Yet to-day his words—yea, even the apocrypha of his sayings—are used as texts to embellish the speeches of statesmen who, had they been extant in his time would most likely have been among his traducers. [Applause.]

The same was true of Grant. To further partisan ends, it was charged that as a soldier he was a butcher, reckless of human life and suffering. As a President, he was the friend and partner of corruptionists, a conspirator against the liberties of his country, aiming to subvert Republican government and to set up an imperial dynasty. If you want to find strong language on imperialism, militaryism, and Cæsarian ambition, read the anti-Grant speeches of 1872. But now there is no higher name as an example of all that is great and admirable in military genius, civil courage and magnanimity,

than Grant, the one-time spectre of incarnate imperialism that frightened the timid imaginations of political foes. [Applause.]

A United States Senator, who if also a very prominent officer in the organization of the Democratic party showed much concern the other day because it was reported that the American flag had been raised over the island of Tutuila. He commanded that the Treaty between the three powers should be held up until such a monstrous accusation should be investigated, and if found true, it is a proper inference that he wanted the flag hauled down.

It is hard to understand why the presence of our flag anywhere on the face of the globe, should give offence to some Americans, especially when all the rest of the world seems content about it. [Cheers.] The American people have grown used to seeing the flag advance. They have come to expect it. Upon the narrow fringe of the Atlantic seaboard that comprised the thirteen original States, it was carried westward beyond the Alleghanies. Jefferson planted it beyond the Mississippi, over millions of acres of territory that had known before only the colors of Spain or the lilies of France. Then Jackson helped to raise it over Florida. The expansive spirit of our people carried it next to Oregon and the Pacific, and then down the Pacific to California. But ocean barriers could not restrain the onward impulse, and down on the Pacific waters it was unfurled over Hawaii. American valor set the flag flying over the Spanish islands of the East and West Indies, and giving light in a dark place, it now sheds its rays throughout the whole Philippine Archipelago. [Long continued applause.]

The American people, as I said, have become accustomed to seeing the flag run up. The Republican party has not heretofore been very active in hauling it down. They have maintained the other side of such controversies, and usually with great success. The cause of liberty has not been accustomed to suffer harm or to retrograde under the administration of Republicans. [Applause.]

No word in the lexicon expressive of anything that stands for the opposite of liberty or equality, has ever been properly attributed to that organization. It was not they who sought to extend the domain of African slavery over the free soil of Kansas and Nebraska. They did not deny to the freedman the rights of citizens nor withhold from them the privilege of self-government. It was not they who insisted that the white races were the only ones fit to govern. They have not strained ingenuity to invent devices that would prevent the poor or ignorant black man from voting, while the poor and ignorant white man shall not be interfered with. No! liberty has not suffered at their hands, nor is it likely to now. Nor is it probable that anything but substantial justice will be done under an

administration whose habits have heretofore been so universally friendly to equality of rights for all men. [Applause.]

Glib-tongued orators appealing to the baser passions are fond of assailing the Republican party as a friend of capital—spelled with a big C in order to give it a larger quality of dangerous monstrosity in the minds of those who do not possess any of it. So it has been the friend of capital, always. Not, however, in the sense in which it is accused, which falsely supposes the existence of a natural and necessary hostility between capital and the material welfare and prosperity of the country. It has been the friend of capital as representing property, one of the things which our constitution declares no man shall be deprived of without the process of law. It is classed in that solemn instrument with life and liberty, and guarded by the same guaranty against unlawful aggression. [Applause.]

The Republican party has been and is the friend of capital considered as money. It has fought to preserve the money of the people, those with much and those with little, from dishonest depreciation; to keep it from being scaled down by impaired standards. It has undertaken to make the establishment of one safe, honest standard as secure as solemn enactment can do it. And in this it is but carrying out the will of the people at the ballot-box. It has been and is against repudiation in every form and in every degree. It rejoices in the millions upon millions of aggregated capital that fill the savings banks of the country, and the vast accumulations of the building and loan societies. [Great applause.]

When I was in the State of my distinguished friend from Iowa last October, I was told that in the banks of that state there were deposited one hundred and sixty million dollars and that ninety per cent. of that belonged to the farmers of Iowa. The Republican party is the friend of those millions and the friend of the farmers who owned those millions. I met a farmer in Illinois, and I said to him "What do you produce, bread?" He said "Cattle." I said "You must be interested in the beef trust." "Well," he said, "I'm it!" Last year, said he, "I was selling cattle on the hoof for three dollars and a half a hundred. I took up twenty of them to the station the other day that averaged thirteen hundred pounds a piece, and I got seven dollars a hundred for them." [Cheers and laughter.]

The Republican party welcomes capital. What neighborhood doesn't want it to come more and more and settle with it? We like to see capital prosper, because when capital thrives, labor thrives. Go out and ask the millions of employes in the factories, on the streets, on the farms, and on the railroads who are to-day rejoicing in higher wages than they ever get before, if it is not so. The Republican party is the friend of capital,

because it is the friend of labor, and one cannot prosper without the other. [Cheers and applause.]

What other organization in all the world has such a splendid and consistent record of devotion to the interests of labor? From its earliest days it was the advocate of free labor, and it is due it that to-day the rich fields of Kansas and Nebraska are not tilled by slaves. Its homestead laws were designed to help the poor man to a home and farm of his own. And how we have fought in season and out, in prosperity and adversity, for an American protective policy, and just because we sought to raise and keep our laboring classes above the standard of comfort and happiness attained in any other land. And so they are to-day, as all the world will testify. [Applause.]

Let others make war on capital; let populistic, peripatetic candidates under any flag they choose to fly, go about preaching the gospel of hatred and spoliation; let States that don't want thrift and enterprise and prosperity to dwell with them, repel the efforts of capital to do business in their borders, and the Republican party will still go on, with charity for all and malice towards none, seeking by the proper policies and laws to fuse and combine the mutual interests of money and labor to the enrichment of all. [Applause and cheers.]

The political propaganda of discontent is about the only enterprise that is not prospering now. Think for a moment that all the stupendous growth of our people in general wealth and comfort during the last forty years has occurred under Republican administration. The eight years when our opponents were in power were not fat kine; they were rather the lean kine that ate up the fat ones. [Laughter.]

But some will say that we deserve no credit for all that; that it was natural growth, the richness of mother earth; the fertile soil; the wealth of the mines and a general combination of irresistible impulses. Very well, if you say so; but the Republican party had sense enough not to try to impede or hinder the operations of nature or to repeal natural laws, while some members of the opposition have professed that value could be created by legislative fiat, and wealth be redistributed upon a juster principle founded upon the desire of those who have not to possess that which others have.

But we do not admit that the policy and administration of this party are not to be credited with a large part of this vast success. We have avowed our plans and purposes in advance, have said that if adopted prosperity would be the result. We have legislated and our promises of good results have come true.

And so under Republican rule the country has taken up new and still grander policies of national progress and expansion. The flag has been carried Eastward and Westward where

the islands of the sea waited for us. While we have been growing in wealth and territory, we have enlarged our influence. The first Republican administration when it looked abroad encountered everywhere sentiments on the part of the nations of Europe, with one noble exception, which were cold, unsympathetic, and so affected with a desire to see the American nation sundered in two, that they scarcely tried to conceal their real unfriendliness. This nation had lived so closely within traditions of the fathers, and had so little impressed its influence upon the policies of other powers, that they were affected by no other concern, either in our favor or against us, than such as arose out of commercial considerations, in which was involved the desire to have free admission to our markets for their manufactured goods and an ample supply of raw cotton for their spindles. On the whole this desired condition was more likely to exist under a Southern Confederacy than the old Union, especially while a Republican and Protectionist administration was in power. But as an international factor whose interest and influence were to be regarded with respectful deference, and whose friendship was esteemed a honor to be courted and prized, we were of no more account than the Ahkoond of Swat. How different now !

“ We have now departed from our policy of not mixing in the affairs of Europe, but Europe has come to take a great interest in us, not only in what we do, but in what we think, or at least in what we say we think. The Emperor and his Chancellor confess their pleasure in the friendly words of the President in his message of Congress. [Applause.]

France, too, received with satisfaction the expressions of good will and amity towards her, while the British were pained to reflect that had it not been for some recent indiscreet utterances of some of their own ministers, the language of the message might have been more warm and brotherly towards them. The truth is, the world perceives, and has perceived sooner than some of our own people that the United States of America has become a great world power, not by any special process of election or choice, but by growth, development, and an extension of her domain of territory, as well as of trade into regions where we must encounter the rivalries and at the same time shall claim our share of the privileges that pertain to the dominant powers in administering the affairs of the Orient. [Great applause.]

The prospects of material advantage to come from the extension of our Eastern trade are enough to inspire enthusiasm. Besides the 8,000,000 in the Philippine Archipelago to whom we have the special right to minister in supply and trade, the open doors of China have been secured by the diplomatic action of our State Department against any desire of any other power

to shut them in our face. Consider what lies before us there! 300,000,000 of Chinese, 4,000,000 square miles of territory, only 350 miles of railways. American enterprise looks at these figures, ponders their significance, and reaches a conclusion. What is the conclusion? It is that America has a chance to increase her business in that direction. The railroad contractor, the locomotive builder, the tool and supply manufacturers—all want and will get a share in the work of developing and extending the railroad system in China. Then the American farmer, the wheat grower, the cotton grower, the manufacturer, the merchants—all are looking for and will get their share of the increased trade arising from the progress and expansion of that Empire. The practical mind sees as a result of the proper treatment of these opportunities for years to come, busy factories, busy hands, big wages, happy homes. [Loud applause.]

They are not stopping to vex their souls over musty discussions of free trade, nor are they reading recipes for securing the markets of the world by revenue reduction. They are simply looking straight ahead upon the object they have in view, and are going for it without stopping to theorize or debate. Instead of relying on legislation or resolutions, they are studying the conditions of the people and taking practical measures to gain the markets just as they would the markets of Texas or Oregon.

China is only a part of that great Orient, which now opens up great opportunities for American enterprise. And we can trust American enterprise to take advantage to the full of every opportunity. The Republican party proposes to help the American people gather the fruits of these advantages. [Cries of "Good!"]

In view of such weighty responsibilities, with such grand opportunities for advancing ourselves and rendering noble service to the peoples of the East, with a great future close before us, the horizon already aglow with the red beams of the rising sun of our beneficent power, let us rise above the dwarfish stature of little Americans to the fullness of the destiny which is plainly ordained for our country. Let us recognize and understand the new sphere of influence among the nations which Providence has given us to administer in equity and good conscience, without fear and without reproach. Let us stand together as one people, self-respecting, as well as respectable, when we transact international affairs; and do not let it be said by the people of other nations that our enemies and detractors are those of our own household. [Long continued applause.]

DR. DEPEW: Well, gentlemen, as usual, New Jersey rose to the occasion. The Attorney General's tribute to the safety of capital and the security of labor in New Jersey

reminded me of an incident which occurred only two days ago in the Attorney General's State. When Colonel Bryan delivered his great speech on "Trust" in Paterson and retired to his hotel, he said to his private secretary, "This is the home of Trust, this is New Jersey, and we must behave here as we do in a sleeping car when going through the Indian Territory." The private secretary not understanding what he meant, left the room and retired to his own. When Col. Bryan reached the depot the next morning he said, "I have left my valuables at the hotel." He described where they were. The Private Secretary returned, tore open the seat of a sofa, and from it took out one thousand gold certificates, for the purpose of illustrating that even in New Jersey, in the seat of a sofa, a thousand gold certificates belonging to "16 to 1" are absolutely safe.

QUARTETTE—"THE SWORD OF BUNKER HILL."

DR. DEPEW: One of the stories that have floated to us from over the sea of our distinguished ambassador to England, Mr. Choate, is that at a recent dinner at a wealthy house, famed for its hospitality and aristocracy, my lord said, across the table, "Well, Mr. Choate, I have seen very often in the *London Times*, for the last few years, something about this Mr. Chauncey Depew. What is his station?" Mr. Choate replied: "The Grand Central Station." My lord, with that fine appreciation of our conditions and American jokes which characterizes our kin across the sea, said, "Ah, yes, I see: one of your great middle classes." [Laughter.]

The great picture which has captured the imagination, and the artistic sense, and the devotional spirit of the world for hundreds of years has been that marvellous portrait of the Sistine Madonna in the Dresden Gallery. After a hundred years has come another picture, which also captured the imagination and touched a pathetic cord in the human heart all over the world. It was Millet's actual, beautiful, realistic presentation of the peasant and his wife in the field when the Angelus was sounded. The mystic chord, the sympathetic chord of that picture has remained unexpressed, because labor has never been touched by poetry. The lifting and the possibilities of the lifting of the under world have never been breathed till in America a poet arose who gave it voice, and the world instantly recognized the inspiration of genius. That poet is with us here to-night, and upon the inspiring theme which calls us together, Professor Markham will read a poem.

LINCOLN, THE GREAT COMMONER.

When the Norn Mother saw the Whirlwind Hour
Greatening and darkening as it hurried on,
She bent the strenuous Heavens and came down
To make a man to meet the mortal need.
She took the tried clay of the common road—
Clay warm yet with the genial heat of earth,
Dashed through it all a strain of prophecy;
Then mixed a laughter with the serious stuff.
It was a stuff to wear for centuries.
A man that matched the mountains and compelled
The stars to look our way and honor us.

The color of the ground was in him, the red earth,
The tang and odor of the primal things—
The rectitude and patience of the rocks;
The gladness of the wind that shakes the corn;
The courage of the bird that dares the sea;
The justice of the rain that loves all leaves;
The pity of the snow that hides all scars;
The loving kindness of the wayside well;
The tolerance and equity of light
That gives as freely to the shrinking weed
As to the great oak flaring to the wind—
To the grave's low hill as to the Matterhorn
That shoulders out the sky.

And so he came.

From prairie cabin up to Capitol,
One fair ideal lead our chieftain on.
Forevermore he burned to do his deed
With the fine stroke and gesture of a king.
He built the rail pile as he built the State,
Pouring his splendid strength through every blow,
The conscience of him testing every stroke,
To make his deed the measure of a man.

So came the Captain with the mighty heart;
And when the step of earthquake shook the house,
Wrenching the rafters from their ancient hold,
He held the ridgepole up and spiked again
The rafters of the Home. He held his place—
Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.
And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
As when a kingly cedar, green with boughs,
Goes down with a great shout upon the hills.

Address of Rabbi Samuel Schulman.

DR. DEPEW: My friends, no statesman, living or dead, ever so thoroughly grasped, expressed, and believed in that mighty spirit of ancient Judaism of "the pillar of cloud by day and the pillar of fire by night" which would lead the people to salvation, as Abraham Lincoln. Accordingly we have with us to-night a Rabbi, a representative of the spirit and of that race who is also imbued with the up-to-date, modern spirit, and will express it to us. I am happy to introduce Rabbi Schulman.

TOAST—POLITICAL CONSCIENCE.

It needs no partisan bias to enable one to participate gladly in the festivities of this evening. All pure and broadminded patriots must congratulate the Republican party that by the dispensation of Providence there stood at its cradle he who has now become an object of reverence and love that overleaped the boundaries of parties and factions.

It must be a perennial inspiration for a party to realize that the greatest name in its history is at the same time the one which more than any other in the annals of our country symbolizes the spirit of American institutions.

There are names that embody the characters of nations and voice the genius of ages. There are men in history whom it needs but to mention in order to recall some great and imperishable factor in the story of man's progress. When we think of the deep and underlying laws of all civilization, of the fundamental principles which bind men together and make human society possible, when we speak of the laws of righteousness as the purpose of the ages and the commandments of deity, we cannot but think of the inspired law-giver, Moses. When we wish to evoke a name that, more than any other, shall call up before us a type of everything that was best and characteristic in the contribution which the Hellenic genius made to human culture—when we search for the embodiment of the wisdom of Greece, its love of truth and beauty, its worship of the ideal, and its plastic power of representing that ideal, we say Plato. When we wish to emphasize in one word that tendency in human nature to subdue order, unite and master the world which has been

marked by paths of blood, condemned by the tears of the defeated, and denounced by the indignation of the oppressed, but which it must be admitted in its expression of man's power and thirst for glory seems also to have performed a task permitted by the Ruler of nations—when we speak of Roman greatness and every succeeding imitation of Roman ambition, we mention the name that is typical of every world-conqueror—we say Cæsar. And thus voicing in one word the incomparable boon which in the fullness of time came to mankind, expressing in one name the character of free institutions, their glorious possibilities, and the justified confidence which they place in the virtue, intelligence, nay, the elemental genius which may dwell in the heart of the great mass of the common people, seeking a synonym for America, we exclaim Lincoln!

Permit me to seek inspiration from Abraham Lincoln for a few remarks upon the theme assigned to me—"Political Conscience." At first blush cynics will be inclined to say that such a phrase is a rhetorical figure, like "sweet bitterness," or "foolish wisdom," which, while it tickles the ear and pleases the fancy, hardly expresses any corresponding reality in life. Politics and conscience, the politician and character seem to pessimists to be irreconcilable contradictions, and indeed one of the disheartening facts for a lover of free government is the degeneracy of the word "politician." The history of a people, its development of thought and its change of sentiment are often registered not only in written statute, in positive institutions, in social usage, but also most effectively in the subtle exaltation or degradation of a word.

Let us grant that much of the vicious partisanship, unscrupulous, self-seeking and corrupt methods of those who are active in politics, and the distressing mass of selfish indifference of the beneficiaries of free government, who are inactive, have combined to bring reproach upon the name and function of politician. Let us in humility confess that there is something in the phrase, "Political conscience," which is disquieting. Natural laws sometimes act peculiarly with respect to it. We see that even the bracing air of the mountains of Montana, instead of stimulating the political conscience, has debauched it entirely and put it to sleep; yet it must be said, despite all this, that free government, government of the people, "government by discussion," to use a phrase of Mr. Bagehot, and not by centralized administration, will always have, because it must have, politicians as its specialized workers, and will depend entirely for its strength, permanence, rightness, and beneficence upon the conscience of the people, and that of the politicians. The great problem of free government appears to be how to persuade the largest number of people to become active politicians, and how to make conscience active in politics. In a

republic the highest phase of conscience, because the most unselfish form of it, is the political conscience. The voice in us which dictates right conduct and condemns the wrong, finds many various questions according to our vocations in life. There is a private business conscience which regulates our personal dealings and a man may be most scrupulous in listening to its dictates and yet not perform the full duty of manhood in his capacity as citizen. There is a scientific conscience which enables the industrious searcher for truth to be a hero in its service, to make the martyr's sacrifice for duty, and yet the very absorption in theoretical interests may mislead a man into remaining cold and unsympathetic towards the needs and interests of the mass of his fellow men. There is the æsthetic conscience, which in artists and men of letters acts as a jealous watchman over his ideals, keeps him loyal to his best insight and worthy methods, despite the temporary popularity of an art that would pander to depraved tastes and to mercenary temptations, and yet the very sensitiveness and idealism of the man of culture, be he creative or merely a disciple, may so warp his judgment as to make him look down with contempt upon the crowd. He may consider himself exempt from any obligations to lend a helping hand in solving the problems which concern the dignity, the freedom, the right, and the happiness of the humblest man in society. The social conscience which has been preached during the last two decades by some of the brightest and noblest minds is indeed a magnificent ethical fruitage of the principles at the heart of American civilization. A man must not merely content himself with satisfying his conscience in his daily business, he must have a keener sense of responsibility which will make him feel vividly his immeasurable indebtedness to the society which has made possible his wealth, or power, or culture, and seek to give some adequate return for the blessings he enjoys. But indeed free government, the sense of social solidarity demands above all keen political conscience, because of the tremendous influence for good or for evil that political action can wield.

Political conscience is a sensitiveness to the fundamental principles upon which our government rests, and that is the recognition of the value and importance of the humblest man in society. It implies criticism of all suggested measures of government from the view point of the interests of the masses, and it means an unselfish and energetic devotion to the duties of citizenship which excludes, because it condemns, a supine and cowardly indifference to politics. Political conscience for its possessor means Americanism in fact, through the intelligent interest in public affairs, and discredits an Americanism by proxy, which is tempered by an occasional grumble. It dictates the honest but fearless maintenance of what is conceived

as right, and the deliberate expression of such conviction through the association with others. It also supposes an openness of mind, a progressiveness of spirit, which shall be ready to meet new problems and duties which spring up from time to time. It is not merely to be sincere, energetic, active and unselfish, but it is also not to worship the letter of the past as an idol, rather courageously to apply the spirit of American institutions to new questions as they arise and press for a decisive answer. It means for a man, either inconspicuously as a voter, or with more or less prominence as a leader, to become in the best sense of the word a politician. Political conscience in a free country is human virtue expressed clearly and actively through the machinery of government. It is practically synonymous with live, wide awake patriotism.

Let it not be forgotten that Abraham Lincoln, who has been called the greatest American, was a politician. His mind was fed by the classics of American politics. His thoughts were woven of the ideas of liberty and nationality around which revolve the problems of his country. As one of his biographers says, "The benefits which he professed for his fellow man were to be accomplished by political means alone. Politics were his world—a world filled with hopeful enchantments." His whole career, aside from his profession, was dedicated to an active work in politics. He was not merely a theoretical politician, he was in daily touch with the actual machinery of party management. He never pretended to any indifference to earthly honors, as he says in one of his speeches, but he did claim to be actuated in the contest with Douglass by something higher than an anxiety for office. Lincoln is the unexcelled type of the political conscience in action. His career is an illustration of the truth that the politician becomes the statesman through the magical transforming power of character. He always had a clear grasp of principles and was fearless in announcing them, even at the cost of temporary retirement from public life. His greatest opponent said of him that he was the "honestest man he ever knew." He took a long time to make up his mind, but he was no trimmer nor falterer when the opportune hour came. His honesty and courage, the dominant notes of his political conscience and the ingrained habits of his mind rewarded him at last by making him, with the power of intuition, grasp in advance of others the political situation of his time, and he made himself the standard bearer of his party by a speech that pierced the heart of America by the honest and clear statement on an incontrovertible fact that this country could not permanently remain half slave and half free. Thus the politician, the product of an exclusively American political education, the legislator of the frontier capital, the unsuccessful aspirant for a commissionership, when called to guide the

highest position in the land, revealed the truth that God's ways are not our ways, and that sometimes it needs only the key of such opportunity as is offered by American freedom and equality to unlock the treasure house of unguessed mental greatness and undreamed sublimity of heroism, and while the strength of his character made him master, in the presence of experienced statesmen, the polished orator, the trained scholar, the scientific soldier, yet it is interesting to observe that upon the great and overshadowing question of emancipation and the ultimate determination of the political status of the negro, the conscience of Lincoln grew and deepened from day to day and only became finally determined as a result of circumstances which disciplined and informed it. Charles Sumner says "it was Lincoln's own frank confession that he did not control events, but that they had controlled him."

It is, therefore, nothing to be ashamed of when upon the rise of new and unforeseen questions, the conscience of those who are in authority and are clothed with responsibility does not act with the immediateness of dogmatic certainty. It implied no vacillation, or timidity, or inconsistency, but it expressed loyalty to the best traditions of American political character and statesmanship for the President and the men who surrounded him with their counsel and support to have gone slowly and tentatively in the solution of the problems which unexpectedly were thrust upon the American people, but at last, having learned from the unfolding of events and having listened to the views of the people, courageously and with a sense of duty that could not be shirked they accepted the difficult task of planting the American flag, symbol of our freedom and justice, in lands which, without our seeking or desire, the God of battle gave us to guard and protect—a natural consequence of the matchless American valor manifested in the war caused by American chivalry.

But political conscience, if it is to find such unblemished types as Lincoln, must root in the conscience of the whole people. The leaders are only types of the majorities that consecrate them to leadership. They are not anointed from the fount of royal prerogative. They cannot claim any supernatural help through any divine right. They receive their authority from their fellow men. Their character is, therefore, delicately sensitive to the political conscience of their masters, the people. This government is a vote of confidence in the masses of the people. This does not mean that the people will always be infallible in judgment, or that they will not sometimes be misled by passion or betrayed by prejudice, but it does mean that at heart the people love the right, will condemn that which is morally wrong in men or measures, and it is impressive to know upon every clear cut ethical question, the masses,

both in free England across the sea and in our own glorious republic, have vindicated the confidence placed in them by the unprecedented experiment of universal suffrage.

I congratulate this Club upon the brilliant gathering of men who have come to celebrate the memory of the immortal exemplar of conscience in politics. I am glad to see so many business men who certainly can have no anxiety for office because they could ill afford to make the sacrifice of holding it, acknowledge themselves to be politicians. Let men, by active and unselfish interest in public affairs, illustrate that political conscience is not dead. Let them frown down that cant which would make it appear that political work necessarily defiles. Let us, inspired by the example of the martyred President, the great Man in Politics, not pretend to be insensible to the distinctions which the approbation of our fellow men may bestow, but let us also feel that not the anxiety for office or the expectation of any reward, however subtle or indirect, is the determining motive in our partisan affiliations. Let us make our political conscience keenly responsive to the many clear cut questions of right and wrong which in national, and especially in home politics, agitate the community. Let us have the honesty and humility to attempt to think clearly for ourselves, the courage to stand up for our convictions and the unselfishness to sacrifice time and money, if need be, to enforce them. Let us with courage and intelligent confidence in the American people, meet the new duties and problems of American politics.

These indeed will be more serious than any our country had had. They practically concern duties to ourselves as a free people and duty to others as a nation of honor. The nineteenth century blessed the world with political freedom. It emancipated talent and character from the chains forged by the special privileges of king and noble. The twentieth century will find itself confronted with this problem; how to use the machinery of free institutions so as to prevent the practical impotence of the individual in the presence of the great and growing power of money, centered as this is in agencies which, while not personal and possessing no soul, enjoy the privilege of immortality. Purely political problems are giving way to such as are tinged with economic and social questions. The nineteenth century gave humanity a vote. The twentieth century will, by means of this vote of the people, attempt to answer the question how far real and deep-going justice shall make the ballot an expression of a free, untrammelled and dignified, because economically independent, manhood. Our country will also be called upon to prove how deeply freedom has become ingrained in our character, so that we may dare, with safety to our own institutions and justice to humanity, attempt to perform the task of guardians to the wards whom we did not

choose, but from whom we cannot with honor and loyalty to duty deliberately turn away.

America has grown to the full stature of complete maturity among the nations. At home she is called upon to employ the great power of the State, animated by the breath of righteousness, as a means with which to restrain the strong and protect the weak. Unbridled individualism, ruthlessly seeking its own interests must be met by the collective power of the people, seeking with the majesty of the law to overawe any attempt to degrade American manhood. Abroad she is to take her place as one of the great world powers. In the international competition for influence in the Orient she cannot, and will not, in this age when electricity and steam have knit together the ends of the earth, timidly retreat and practically confess that there is not enough of wisdom, moderation, and virtue in the American people to meet new opportunities and accept new obligations without the fear of suddenly reversing the whole trend of their institutions. Such are the problems to which the political conscience will have to adjust itself.

Honest men will differ on these questions as men have differed in every crisis of America's career. Let us pay the tribute of our reverence to the sincerity of conviction and to the moral courage which is even strong enough to be in a minority of one and oppose a whole party. But I cannot help saying that I believe the conscience of our country will not fail to answer the new questions correctly and justly. When I look over the world I find that political conscience flourishes best upon the soil of free countries. Let the heathen rage, let the envious belittle, let the cynics scoff at and the haters of free institutions question the sincerity of Anglo-Saxon aspirations, but the fact remains that the English-speaking peoples who have given the world genuine liberty, the complete representation of the people in government, and a perfect recognition of the sacred rights of religious beliefs for all, that these peoples have a higher and more sensitive political conscience than that of any other nation on the globe. I am ready to trust them, and especially do I feel that we need not fear that any tyranny or injustice or inhumanity will besmirch our flag, even when it waves over the distant isles of the Pacific. It certainly will symbolize a political conscience at least equal to if not superior to that of any monarchy that is only too ready to take our place should we faint-heartedly desert the post of duty consecrated by the blood of our heroes—a flag that has offered hospitable welcome to the oppressed and the enterprising of all nations and with unparalleled generosity given them full rights of citizenship after but a nominal novitiate. The flag under whose inspirations thousands laid down their lives that the fetters of slavery might fall from the black man. The flag that waves to-day

over a united country of seventy millions of free men, self-conscious and jealous of their liberties, is certainly good enough to be flung to the breeze as a prophetic emblem over the Philippines. It will bring to them the same message with which it always has been vocal, as soon as the people will be permitted to listen to it. We therefore feel no pangs of conscience in the prospect of the extension of American dominion and influence. Our country cannot but be a missionary of enlightenment, a teacher in liberty, a trainer in the science of rights, and a promoter of the arts of peace, and while she brings new political life to the East, she will through the very work she is engaged in, feel her own conscience, her sense of responsibility deepened. The outlook of her citizens will be widened, their ideals of government raised, not lowered, and methods of administration necessarily improved, not degraded. Respecting the opinions of those who differ with us, we feel that the history of the party of moral ideas warrants us in saying to them in the words of Abraham Lincoln, words which I consider the best definition of political conscience: "With malice toward none, and with charity to all, firmly to do the right as God shall view the right."

GUESTS
OF
LINCOLN DINNER COMMITTEE

HON. JOHN W. GRIGGS
HON. ROBT. G. COUSINS
HON. W. W. GOODRICH
HON. DAVID RUMSEY
HON. W. L. STRONG
HON. JAMES M. VARNUM
HON. P. C. LOUNSBURY
HON. BERIAH WILKINS
HON. ABNER MCKINLEY
HON. EDMUND WETMORE
HON. L. E. CHITTENDEN
HON. S. E. WILLIAMSON
HON. C. C. PAULDING
GEN. HENRY L. BURNETT
GEN. SAMUEL THOMAS
GEN. ANSON G. MCCOOK
REV. MALTBIE D. BABCOCK
REV. SAML. SCHULMAN
PROF. EDWIN MARKHAM
MR. H. P. MOORHOUSE

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Filet de Bœuf aux champignons

Tartelettes d'épinards

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Dindonneau sauce celeri

Petits pois parisienne

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Aubergine frite

Sorbet : Cordon Rouge

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Hominy frit

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ENTREMETS DE DOUCEUR

Croutes aux pêches

Glaces de fantaisies

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The Souvenir of the evening, presented to each member and guest, was

A BRONZE PAPERWEIGHT,

a reproduction of which is shown on a previous page.

At the conclusion of the dinner the ladies entered the gallery.

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HON. W. L. STRONG
HON. W. W. GOODRICH
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TABLES
IN THE LADIES' BANQUET HALL



BANQUET HALL AND TABLES

Press

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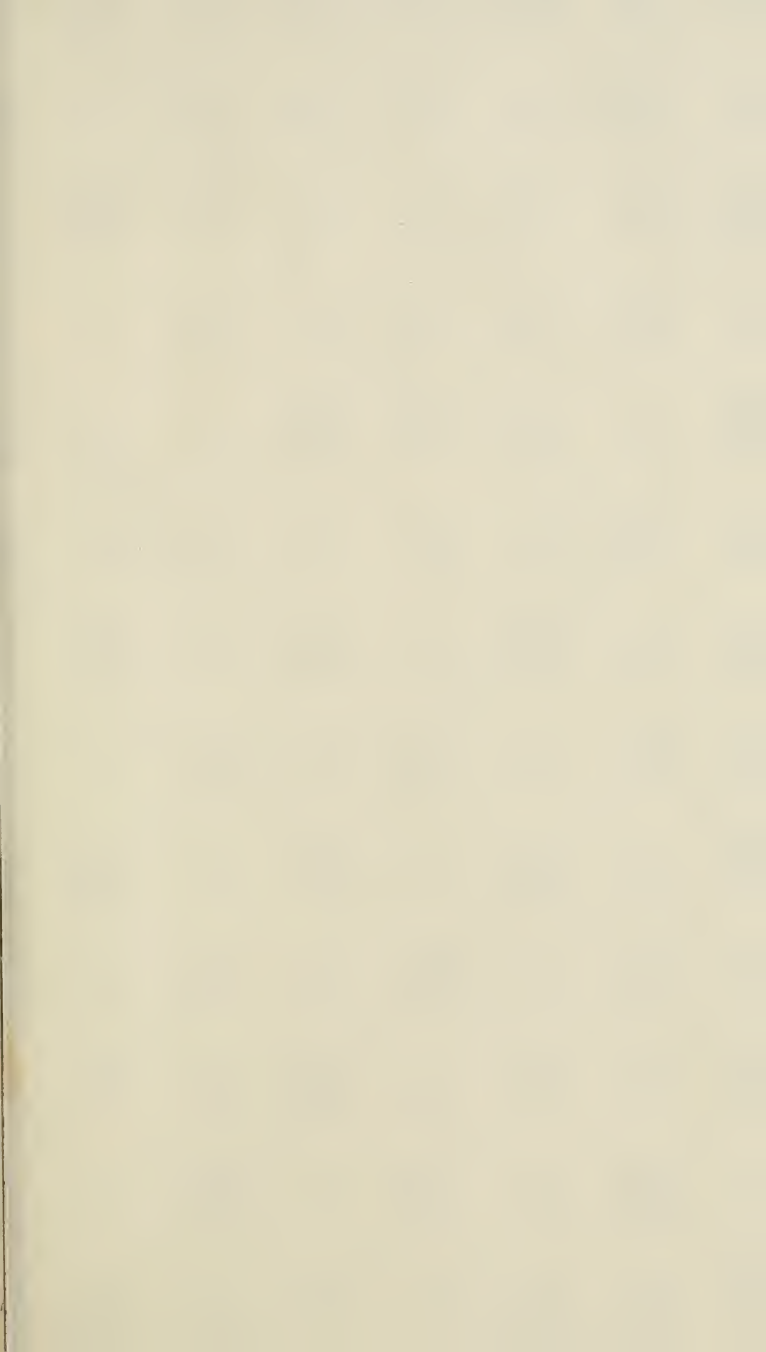
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BOOKBINDING
Grantville, Pa.
March - April 1985
We Can Bind It

